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Message Text

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EA/P:WMAGRUDER (SUBS.)
---------- 028997
R 092108Z AUG 74
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USLO PEKING
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, CH, US
SUBJECT: FAIRBANK LETTER TO NYT
REF: (A) PEKING 1337; (B) PEKING 1354

FOLLOWING IS JOHN K. FAIRBANK LETTER TO EDITOR DATED JULY 23 WHICH APPEARED IN JULY 29 NYT. NYT GAVE LETTER HEADING "TOWARD A ONE-CHINA IDEAL".
BEGIN TEXT: PROFESSOR WILBUR'S SUPPORT (LETTER JULY 18) FOR U.S. EMBASSIES IN BOTH TAIPEI AND PEKING RAISES A PROBLEM WE SHOULD TRY NOT TO RAISE. SINCE WE NOW DEAL AFTER A FASHION WITH TWO CHINESE REGIMES, IT MAY SEEM LOGICAL AT FIRST GLANCE TO HAVE TWO EMBASSIES. UNFORTUNATELY THIS IDEA DISREGARDS BOTH CHINESE HISTORY AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

CONSIDER THE FACTS: (1) CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S HIGHEST AIM WAS TO UNIFY CHINA. MAO TSE-TUNG HAS DONE SO EXCEPT FOR TAIWAN. BOTH LEADERS HAVE ALWAYS DENOUNCED "TWO CHINAS." THIS IS NO ACCIDENT BECAUSE UNITY THROUGHOUT CHINA'S LONG HISTORY HAS MEANT NO CIVIL WAR, THEREFORE PEACE, MAYBE PROSPERITY. (EVEN WE AMERICANS FOUGHT OUR ONE CIVIL WAR
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OVER THE ISSUE OF UNITY.)

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(2) THE CHINESE REVOLUTION SINCE 1919 HAS SOUGHT THE UNITY OF ALL CHINESE AND THEIR SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE AS ITS GREATEST POLITICAL IDEALS AND THEREFORE HAS DEMANDED THE END OF ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION. CHIANG'S NATIONALISTS RESISTING JAPAN AFTER 1931 HAD TO LEAVE US OUR UNEQUAL TREATY PRIVILEGES TEMPORARILY, BUT THEN GOT THEM ABOLISHED IN 1943. MAO TSE-TUNG HAD TO GIVE THE SOVIETS SPECIAL PRIVILEGES IN 1950, BUT GOT THEM ABOLISHED AFTER STALIN'S DEATH. CHINA'S REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM IS THE MOST MASSIVE POLITICAL SENTIMENT IN THE HUMAN RECORD. WE SHOULD NOT FLY IN THE FACE OF IT.

OUR SECURITY TREATY WITH TAIPEI IS VIEWED BY PEKING AS A CONTINUED INTERVENTION IN CHINESE AFFAIRS. HISTORICALLY WE MAY SEE TAIWAN (AND ALSO HONG KONG) AS PLAYING THE ROLE FORMERLY PLAYED BY THE TREATY PORTS--CHINESE PLACES INTEGRATED IN THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL TRADING WORLD, AND SO SOMEWHAT DETACHED FROM THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE OLD CHINESE AGRARIAN-BUREAUCRATIC STATE OR ITS REVOLUTIONARY SUCCESSOR, THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

WE MAY FORESEE THAT SUCH AREAS MAY CONTINUE TO BE DESIRABLE MEETING PLACES IN BETWEEN THE TWO TYPES OF ECONOMY, WHICH MAY BE EXPECTED TO COEXIST FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. BUT AS OUTSIDERS WE CAN DO NO BETTER THAN ADHERE TO THE NIXON-CHOU COMMUNIQUE OF FEBRUARY 1972, ACKNOWLEDGING THAT ALL CHINESE AGREE THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA. A TWO-EMBASSIES POSTURE WOULD UNDO THE WASHINGTON-PEKING RAPPROCHEMENT, WHEREAS AN AMERICAN LIAISON OFFICE IN TAIPEI, ACTING LIKE A CONSULATE GENERAL IN THE JAPANESE FASHION, WOULD BE NO DENIAL OF THE CHINESE NATIONAL IDEAL OF SOVEREIGN UNITY.

WE OUTSIDERS CANNOT SETTLE CHINESE DOMESTIC ISSUES NOR CAN WE LIQUIDATE THE PAST OVERNIGHT. IF WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO BENEFIT FROM OUR FRUITFUL CONTACT WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE OF ALL CAMPS, WE SHOULD ACCEPT THEIR FAITH IN THE ONE CHINA IDEAL AND LET THEM TAKE THE LEAD IN WORKING OUT
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THEIR OWN RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THEMSELVES. WE SHOULD NOT LET OURSELVES BE DRAWN INTO INTERVENING FURTHER IN CHINESE AFFAIRS.
END TEXT.
KISSINGER

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